Ne postoje novi ili stari muslimani, nego vehabije

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Rešid Hafizović o Bugojnu

Oslobođenje/Liberation- 31.07.2010

http://bosnamuslimmedia.com/2010/07/31/intervju-dr-resid-hafizovic-oslobodenje-31-7-2010-god/

Ne postoje novi ili stari muslimani, nego vehabije

Oslobođenje: Profesore Hafizoviću, teroristički napad u Bugojnu mnoge je podsjetio na užasan, gotovo proročanski značaj Vašeg teksta, objavljenog upravo u „Oslobođenju“, pod naslovom „Dolaze po našu djecu“. Kako ste se osjećali kada su se vaše najmračnije slutnje obistinile i kada se ignoriranje vaših riječi upozorenja pokazalo pogubnim?
Hafizović: Kada sam prije skoro četiri godine pisao tekst pod gornjim naslovom, a nakon njegovog preštampavanja nakon terorističkog napada u Bugojnu, osjećao sam se i užasno i tužno u isto vrijeme, jer sam shvatio da je ono za što sam mislio da je definitivno prošlost i da je, samo još jedan događaj u povijesti muslimanske književnosti, kulture i civilizacije, postao naša svakodnevica, nova pošast nakon krvave agresije koju su Bošnjaci jedva preživjeli, novi virus koji u konačnici će uništiti pola milenija star nacionalni, vjerski i kulturni identitet bosanskih Muslimana – Bošnjaka. Taj je virus već uništio svaku šansu za islam u Europi, islam kakav je nekad postojao u muslimanskoj Španjolskoj, a sada završava svoj rad s autohtonim (autohtonim) europskim muslimanskim skupinama na Balkanu i u regiji jugoistočne Europe. Volio bih da nikada nisam morao napisati taj tekst, a bio bih još sretniji da se moje prognoze nikada nisu obistinile i da sam bio u krivu.
Oslobođenje: U našoj sredini pitanje “novih muslimana”, kako ih naziva reis Cerić, ili “vehabija” kako ih često nazivaju mediji, ili “selefija” kako sami sebe nazivaju, uglavnom se tretira površno . Možete li našim čitateljima u nekoliko riječi objasniti ovu terminološku zbrku i ukratko nam reći o kakvim je to muslimanima riječ? Hafizović: Nema “novih” i “starih” muslimana. Postoje samo muslimani kao takvi, muslimani kako su definirani Kur'anom i sunnetom islamskog Poslanika (as), kakvi uglavnom postoje širom planete više od tisuću i četiri stotine godina. Navedena podjela dolazi iz vrha bošnjačkog vjerskog vrha i samo je jedan od neprihvatljivih termina njihovog neodgovornog korištenja jezika u javnom diskursu. Upotreba ovakvog jezika samo je produbljivala, kroz sve ove godine, jazove među Bošnjacima, izazivala njihove svađe i okretala ih jedne protiv drugih. S druge strane, ovakvim nedefiniranim i neukusnim etiketiranjem muslimana kao “novih” ili “starih”, naš vjerski vrh se svjesno i ciljano oslobodio svake odgovornosti, kao i potrebe da se neke stvari

na vrijeme riješe i postave na mjesto koje im pripada za dobrobit islama i muslimana.

Zapravo, tradicionalni bosanski muslimani čine najveći postotak muslimanskog stanovništva u Bosni, kako to opisuju sami izvori islamske vjere. A tu su i 'vehabije', muslimanski puritanci i vječiti popravljači svijeta. Tradicionalni, autentični islam, nikako se ne uklapa u njihovo uvrnuto viđenje, pa čak ni Poslanik islama, as, kao pravi mekkanski aristokrata, nije dovoljno dobar za njih. Pretvaraju ga u karikaturu, neurednog bradatog pastira i sasvim običnog goniča deva. Oni vuku svoju lozu od saudijskog gunđala iz sedamnaestog stoljeća, Muhammada Ibn Abd-al-Wahhaba, nedovoljno obrazovanog reformatora koji je objavio džihad protiv svih muslimana tog vremena uz pomoć kasnije saudijske dinastije kojoj je pomogao da se popne na političko prijestolje svojim falangama. On je krvlju uklesao granice današnje Saudijske monarhije u srcu muslimanskog carstva. U sramotnom savezu s imperijalističkom Britanijom, napao je islamsku vlast pogubivši tisuće muškaraca u Karbali, Najafu i drugim mjestima. Prolio je potoke muslimanske krvi u svetim gradovima Mekki i Medini, Taifu i drugim mjestima. Za ime i ideološko nasljeđe ovog čovjeka vežu se današnje 'vehabije' koje neki od bošnjačkih političara u ovoj zemlji neprimjereno, neodgovorno i pogrešno izjednačavaju sa tradicionalnim muslimanskim pravnim školama ili mezhebima (Mddhhab). Vehabizam je zapravo puritanski pokret nezadovoljan i netolerantan prema svemu što se ne uklapa u njegove ideološke stavove, te je zbog toga često predisponiran metodama ubilačkih ideologija koje se služe svim sredstvima za postizanje svojih ciljeva. Kako je to svojstveno svakom takvom ranijem i kasnijem pokretu, i unutar ove puritanske frakcije među muslimanima postoje previranja i određena raslojavanja koja poprimaju druga imena i drugačije identitete. Kada je njihov mentalitet, psihologija i neprihvatljiv način djelovanja konačno postao proziran, neki od njih našli su utočište pod imenom selefizma, te su se bahato i bez presedana pokušali izjednačiti sa prve tri najuzornije generacije muslimana i njihove vrijednosti i vrline. Drugi, oni ekstremno radikalni kojima ni oni koji su do tada dijelili njihova uvjerenja više nisu bili dovoljni, promovirali su se u vehabijsku avangardu i postali 'tekfirije' – oni koji su sebi dozvolili ono što ni Poslanik islama, a.s., nije učinio niti je smio, odnosno uzeli su privilegiju da odlučuju ko je pravi musliman, a ko nije. U biti, ovdje je riječ o jednom te istom pokretu, istoj netolerantnoj 'filozofiji', istom mentalnom okviru. Razlika u imenima, kojima se ukrašavaju, samo je virtualna i nema stvarnog značaja. U suštini, riječ je o neškolovanim, neobrazovanim, zbunjenim ljudima, koji vlastitoj djeci zabranjuju, na primjer, da uče biologiju u školi, a da nisu ni svjesni da je predmet izučavanja ove časne discipline u najužoj vezi sa Božijim Imenom 'Ez-Zahir' ili Bogom Vidljivim djelovanjem u svijetu osjetila. S jedne strane oni se ponose time što su jedini pravi sljedbenici Poslanika islama (as), as druge strane, svojim neznanjem i nedostatkom znanja o vjerskim praksama, oni napadaju samu srž islamske vjerske doktrine.

Oslobođenje: Kako ste doživjeli reakcije javnosti na napad u Bugojnu, mislim na reakcije političkog vrha i Islamske zajednice?

Hafizović:Doživio sam ih kao vrhunac ljudskog i profesionalnog licemjerja. Svi tako agresivno, poput farizeja, jure na mjesto napada kako bi taj teroristički čin oslovili najokrutnijim etiketama i teškim riječima. I to je bilo sve. Nitko od njih nakon toga ni prstom

nije mrdnuo, nisu osjetili ni trunku odgovornosti ni spremnosti preuzeti odgovornost za našu budućnost. Svi su oni sve znali, ali su se pravili tako 'nevino zbunjeni' i iznenađeni. Da stvar bude gora, ubrzo nakon događaja počeli su ponavljati svoje stare priče. Bili su spremni prebaciti odgovornost na bilo koga kako bi skinuli vehabijsku ideologiju, 'nove muslimane' koji, navodno, jedini mogu obraniti Bošnjake od genocida, kako kaže bošnjački vjerski vrh, a jedan od visokopozicioniranih bošnjačkih političara čak ih okiti ni manje ni više nego titulom 'mezhep'. Da je to iz neznanja to bi bilo oprostivo, ali nije. Čini se to iz čisto manipulativne predizborne svrsishodnosti, kako se ne bi uznemirila ta ideologija i njezini mentori s arapskog poluotoka odakle upravo sada, kao i prije četiri godine, dolaze bezbrojne delegacije trgovaca, gospodarstvenika i investitora, kako bi naša glasačka javnost stekla lažan dojam da se nešto kreativno radi i da će nam nakon predstojećih izbora samo cvjetati ruže. Zbog takvog ignorantskog ponašanja i nemara da se ovim pojavama pogleda pravo u oči, bojim se, stvari će postati još gore, a svima će nam biti jako žao zbog naše neodgovornosti što nismo djelovali u pravo vrijeme.

Oslobođenje: Posljednjih mjeseci u nekoliko europskih zemalja vodi se intenzivna rasprava o zabrani nikaba, uz to što su neke zemlje već donijele određene zakone na tu temu. Kakav je vaš stav o ovom pitanju? Hafizović:

Kako je terorizam postao globalni problem ljudske zajednice, tako su i najodgovorniji politički moćnici svijeta, zarad budućnosti planeta, pokušali stvoriti novi sustav kulturne sigurnosti s potpuno novim procedurama i standardima, kako bi tu nesretnu globalnu pojavu nekako stavili pod kontrolu. Iz tog razloga se postavilo pitanje što brže i nepogrešivije identifikacije svakog pojedinca na ovoj planeti. Zbog ovih novih sigurnosnih mjera u svijetu, na udaru su bile burka i nikab, sastavni dijelovi kulture odijevanja pojedinih muslimanki u novije vrijeme, posebno onih kojima nije dovoljna norma muslimanskog odijevanja kako stoji u Kur'anu prije više od četrnaest stoljeća, koji je propisivao da muslimanka dolazi na molitvu pokrivene glave, otkrivenog lica, pokrivenih ruku do šaka i pokrivenih nogu do članaka. Ako se muslimanka može ovako pojaviti pred 'Božjim licem', zašto ne može izaći pred bilo koje stvorenje koje je On stvorio? Ako ovo nije rezultat ideološke prisile, kao što je slučaj s burkom u Afganistanu za vrijeme talibana, ili rezultat nečije vlastite inicijative da se oponašaju Poslanikove, a.s., žene, za koje Kur'an izričito kaže da “nisu kao druge žene” (Al-Ahzab, 32), a analogno tome, ni ove kasnije ne mogu biti, čak i kad bi htjele, kao one ranije, onda je inzistiranje na nošenju burke i nikaba uglavnom pitanje osobnog izbora a najmanje pitanje vjere i vjerskog uvjerenja. Ako se stručnjaci za ljudska prava slažu da se ovaj dio ruha ne može izostaviti iz korpusa ljudskih prava, onda sam ja prvi koji ne dozvoljava da se u ljudska prava dira, ma o kojim ljudskim pravima se radilo, ali to ne treba vezivati za vjeru i pravdati se vjerom, pretvarajući vlastitu vjersku tradiciju, usprkos milijardu i pet stotina milijuna muslimana u svijetu, u karikaturalni i anakroni fenomen, ali to pitanje treba staviti na razini osobne, individualne modne opcije i izbora. Sve do vremena kada nam je počela pristizati 'ulema' s arapskog poluotoka, nismo imali problema s burkom i nikabom. Svih ovih pet stoljeća islama u Bosni imali smo naše nane, majke, sestre i kćeri koje su nosile prepoznatljiv domaći, bosanski šal, kojim su pokrivale svoje glave onako kako Kur'an nalaže, tako da to nikada, pa ni za vrijeme komunističke vladavine, nije predstavljalo nikakvu

poteškoću.
Ono što mene osobno smeta u cijeloj ovoj zbrci i umjetno nametnutom problemu oko burke i nikaba je sljedeće: neki muslimani ne mogu shvatiti da postoji milijardu važnijih pitanja koja, zbog njih samih, treba što prije riješiti. Nakon što to učine, ostatak slobodnog vremena mogu iskoristiti za raspravu o temi burke i nikaba, jer to je posljednja od 'važnih' stvari u nizu prioriteta koji danas stoje pred ovolikim brojem muslimana, koji se jedino mogu dokazati kao veliki biološki faktor, ali nemaju vitalnog utjecaja na svjetskom tržištu ideja i drugih dostignuća. Bio bih sretniji kada bih u sutrašnjoj Bosni mogao vidjeti što više najbolje obučenih muslimanskih žena sveučilišnih profesorica, sa snažnom sviješću vlastitog vjerskog identiteta i vrijednosti, nosile šal ili ne, nego vidjeti gomilu žena zarobljenih u burkama i nikabu, odsječenih od svijeta i od života. Islam je dao slobodu i dostojanstvo mnogim ženama u muslimanskom svijetu, ali su druge bile porobljene i ponižene od strane nekih muslimanskih vladara koji su im u dvadeset prvom stoljeću oduzeli slobodu i osnovna ljudska prava, te ih prezirali kao nužno zlo, nešto bez čega ne mogu.
Oslobođenje: Takvu atmosferu u Europi zloupotrebljavaju pojedini krugovi u Republici Srpskoj koji traže zabranu nošenja nikaba u Bosni i Hercegovini. Kako ovo komentirate?
Hafizović:Ovo je čista manipulacija i zloporaba, kao i u svemu do sada. Vlasti u manjem bh. entitetu [Republika Srpska] ne mare za sekularnu Europu i njenu borbu za sekularne europske vrijednosti. Tu vladu zanimaju samo načini odvraćanja pozornosti svijeta od svega za što su odgovorne vlada i njezine institucije. Navedena vlast zna da počiva na dva kriminalna stupa, odnosno policiji i vojsci tog entiteta, dok su obje ove institucije osuđene od strane međunarodnog suda za genocid, te se zato moraju nastojati ukloniti. Ta vlast zna da nedovoljno surađuje s državnim institucijama ove zemlje, da ignorira svaku kritiku koja dolazi iz raznih političkih i diplomatskih međunarodnih krugova, zbog neuhićenja i procesuiranja stotina ratnih zločinaca koji ne samo da slobodno šetaju ovom zemljom i svijetom, već su mnogi od njih na visokim pozicijama u institucijama tog entiteta. Ta vlast zna da je entitet koji kontrolira obilježen stotinama masovnih grobnica s posmrtnim ostacima strijeljanih Bošnjaka i namjerno krije dokaze od domaćih i međunarodnih istražitelja. Konačno, ta vlast, zloupotrebljavajući europsku raspravu o burki i nikabu, pokušava, nakon što nije uspjela razbiti ovu državu, uvjeriti svijet kako 'Bosna postaje oaza bijelog terorizma', te je zbog toga treba zaustaviti na putu ka europskim integracijama i izolirati je kao balkansku rupu bez dna. To je krajnja svrha cijele inicijative oko burke i nikaba koja dolazi iz manjeg bh. entiteta.
Oslobođenje: Imajući u vidu i rezultate referenduma u Švicarskoj o zabrani minareta, možemo li ovdje govoriti o rastućoj antimuslimanskoj atmosferi na Zapadu?
Hafizović: Na Zapadu, u manjoj ili većoj mjeri, postoji antimuslimansko okruženje od pada Granade 1492. godine. Činjenica je da Zapad nije u potpunosti zadovoljan prisustvom desetina miliona muslimana u svojoj sredini, nesvjestan da je islam svojim temeljnim vrijednostima, nakon perioda muslimanske Sicilije i Španjolske, a kasnije i Balkana, utkan u srce zapadnoeuropskog kulturnog identiteta. Ne znajući ili ne želeći to znati, Zapad, posebice integrirajuća Europa, nije u stanju niti dovršiti priču o vlastitom kulturnom identitetu. Ona neće moći okončati taj proces sve dok ne prizna ono što su joj muslimani dali, te da su muslimanske vrijednosti ugrađene u europsku arhitekturu, glazbu, književnost, filozofiju,

umjetnost i druga civilizacijska dostignuća. Oni to mogu lako saznati, ako žele, jer o tome postoje brda rukopisa i pisane literature. Na taj bi način tradicionalno antimuslimansko okruženje u Europi i na Zapadu nestalo ili se barem smanjilo. Slučaj Švicarske samo govori kako u Europi još uvijek, barem povremeno, vlada virus islamofobije, ali odgovornost za takvu klimu često snose i neki muslimani u Europi i na Zapadu. Neupućeni vlastitoj intelektualnoj tradiciji i zaraženi virusom muslimanskog puritanizma, oni nisu u stanju uspostaviti ni unutarislamsku komunikaciju, a još manje komunikaciju sa svojom okolinom. Na njih se danas mogu primijeniti i riječi rabina Josepha Krauskopfa u njegovoj knjizi Jews and Moors in Spain (Kansas City, 1887.) u kojoj opisuje stanje u Španjolskoj nakon protjerivanja muslimana i Židova. On navodi: “Bilo je prekasno za Španjolsku da pozove Moriscose (Muslimane) natrag. Arapi-muslimani, kakvi su nekada živjeli u Španjolskoj, više nisu postojali. Njihovi potomci, neprosvijećeni beduini, lutaju prostranstvima Afrike, koju su nekada njihovi preci osvijetlili i civilizirali svojom učenošću….duboka , preduboka tama sada vlada na Arapskom poluotoku.” Prema tome, kada muslimani, posebno oni na Zapadu, promijene odnos prema vlastitoj tradiciji mišljenja i vjerovanja, promijenit će i svoje sadašnje stanje, kao i odnos prema susjedima. Oslobođenje: Vi ste iz Srebrenice. Kako komentirate događanja povodom obilježavanja petnaeste godišnjice genocida: od dolaska Tadića [predsjednika Srbije] i Erdogana [premijera Turske] do novih Dodikovih provokacija, te činjenice da je Bosna i Hercegovina vjerojatno jedina država u Europi čiji državni parlament nije zauzeo stav o pitanju genocida u Srebrenici? Hafizović:

Učestvovao sam na posljednjoj dženazi u Potočarima. Moja sestra je, nakon što je ukopala sina jedinca, taj dan ukopala i muža. To je bio pravi razlog mog dolaska. Inače, u posljednje vrijeme izbjegavam ići baš tog dana u Potočare, jer se tamo svake godine može čuti previše lažnih govora [naših] političara i stranih diplomata, kao i svetohlinstva oholosti našeg vjerskog vrha. Svi oni tog dana liju krokodilske suze, drže samoreklamerske govore, a onda odu i više se ne sjete Potočara i Srebrenice.
Što se tiče Tadića i Erdogana, oni su do sada bili najsvjetlije figure. Ako ne iz ljudskih, onda barem iz dobro promišljenih diplomatskih i državnih razloga, Tadić je smogao hrabrosti i došao u Potočare. Zapadnoj se javnosti predstavljao kao humanist i demokrat, a svojoj je zemlji još malo više otvorio vrata prema Bruxellesu. Od njega se u ovom trenutku više ništa ne može očekivati ni ovdje ni u Beogradu.
Erdogan je, bez sumnje, naš prijatelj, veliki diplomata, državnik i srdačni lobista za Bosnu. Jednim potezom čini više za svoju, ali i za našu domovinu nego cijela banda naših političara u četverogodišnjem mandatu. No, nažalost, ni Erdogan, a čini se ni Tadić, među bošnjačkim političkim i vjerskim vrhom nemaju dostojnog sugovornika.
Činjenica da je naš državni parlament jedina takva institucija koja nije zauzela jasan stav o definiciji genocida u Srebrenici, za razliku od većeg dijela demokratskog svijeta, jasno govori da bošnjački političari na državnoj razini nisu ni sposobni ni odgovorni, te da čak i tu Dodikova politika apsolutno dominira. A sve je to samo danak koji plaćamo zbog inata pojedinih bošnjačkih političara, a Bog mi je svjedok i zbog našeg vjerskog vrha koji je, sjećaju se naši čitatelji, na prošlim izborima snažno puhao u Dodikova jedra, tako da je

najveća bošnjačka politička stranka izgubila izbore u većem bh. entitetu, a njen lider mjesto u Predsjedništvu BiH. Sve ovo samo je pokazatelj koliko su nedostojne ruke u koje su pala politička i vjerska žezla na ovim prostorima. Sada imamo što imamo.

Oslobođenje: Turska se sve intenzivnije vraća na svjetsku scenu kao utjecajan faktor. Mislite li da njezin sve veći interes za ovo područje može pomoći konsolidaciji situacije u regiji?

Hafizović:Unatoč sumnjama koje dolaze iz beogradskih orijentalističkih krugova i ocjenama kako se na Balkanu odvija nova otomanizacija, povratak Turske na ove prostore donio bi boljitak svima. Turska je prava regionalna sila koja ima dobru reputaciju u muslimanskom svijetu, kao i na Zapadu. Ona je važna članica NATO-a i snažan saveznik Amerike. Ona ima jasnu muslimansku većinu, ali i jasno prepoznatljive sekularne vrijednosti. Evoluirala je do te mjere da je postala snažan čimbenik stabilnosti i možda je prije potrebna Europi nego Europa njoj. Turska danas ima najbolji i najsposobniji prvi politički i državni ešalon, koji je dokazao da može u roku od dvadeset i četiri sata na jednom mjestu okupiti dojučerašnje neprijatelje ili protivnike i s njima potpisati deklaraciju koja uključuje važnu i korisnu strategiju za sve strane. Danas se turski glas daleko čuje i ozbiljno sluša. Zato se na taj glas ne trebamo oglušiti ni mi, niti itko u regiji Balkana.

Oslobođenje: Čini se da vanjska politika BiH, posebno, ako mogu reći, onaj dio koji oblikuje bošnjačko vodstvo, nije sposobna definirati se prema zemljama islamskog svijeta na način koji bi omogućio da Bosna i Hercegovina ostane između Istoka i Zapada: Je li to uopće moguće?

Hafizović: Bošnjačka vanjska politika je toliko loša da se pitam postoji li ona uopće. U tom segmentu praktički nemamo ozbiljne ljudske figure, nikoga s prepoznatljivim i utjecajnim diplomatskim rukopisom i otiskom stopala. Zato je teško i očekivati neku osjetnu vanjsku politiku, pogotovo onu koja bi uspostavila ravnotežu odnosa Bosne i Hercegovine prema Istoku i Zapadu, kao što je to slučaj s Turskom. Inače, mislim da je moguće uspostaviti takve odnose. Štoviše, uz sve zamjerke koje bismo mogli izreći našoj vanjskoj politici za vrijeme Predsjedništva rahmetli Alije Izetbegovića, treba reći da su takvi odnosi, iako ne baš savršeni, ipak postojali u to vrijeme. Može opet, ali trebaju nam političari potpuno drugačije dizajnirani u svom mentalnom okviru, u svom obrazovanju i općoj kulturi.

Oslobođenje: Za dva mjeseca su novi izbori, mislite li da ćemo nakon trećeg listopada imati više razloga za optimizam nego danas?

Hafizović:Ako ćemo morati birati nove dužnosnike s aktualne političke scene, dobro nam poznate zadnjih petnaestak godina, mislim da nema mjesta optimizmu. Nova imena na sadašnjim izbornim listama, koja nam obećavaju bolju budućnost, po meni su još gora jer se s njima na domaću scenu vraća stara nicejska veza politike i vjere, kao mračni odraz cara Konstantina i egipatskog biskupa Atanazija. To nikako ne može biti dobro. Vratili bismo se u duboki mrak prošlih stoljeća, a upravo u tom mraku iz spomenute veze izlazi vještičje jaje iz kojeg nema zdravog potomstva, samo mnogo krvi i umiranja.

Svi Bosanci i Hercegovci koji imaju poštovanja prema sebi, glasat će za ljude koji neće na slamku sisati krv svoju i svoje djece, već one koji će ih odvesti u dvadeset i prvo stoljeće i u sigurno utočište najboljih tekovina moderne civilizacije. Svaki trezveni Bosanac i Hercegovac mora znati da na sljedećim izborima ne glasa samo u svoje ime, nego u ime svakog djeteta,

unuka i praunuka, za budućnost ove zemlje koja bi trebala biti jedino tlo pod našim nogama. Imajući to na umu, neka svatko posluša svoju svijest i neka u dubini svoga srca zavapi Bogu – što je tako ljudski – da mu toga dana prosvijetli um i pomogne mu donijeti najbolju odluku.
Oslobođenje: Za kraj, možete li našim čitateljima reći na čemu trenutno radite?
Hafizović: Mnoge stvari su u procesu realizacije. Trenutno završavam rukopis o islamu u europskom kulturnom identitetu. Pokušavam završiti i četvrti, posljednji tom velikog arapskog rukopisa koji je u sedamnaestom stoljeću napisao jedan od najpoznatijih bošnjačkih intelektualaca Abdullah-efendija Bošnjak, kao najljepši “Komentar dragulja poslaničke mudrosti” ikada napisan u vremenskom periodu od osam stoljeća. Sam Komentar se poziva na temeljno djelo sufijske književnosti 'Fusus al-Hikam', koje je napisao istinski evropski musliman, poznati andaluzijski mistični filozof Muhjuddin Ibn 'Arabi u dvanaestom stoljeću. Cjelokupni prijevod rukopisa na bosanski jezik, od kojih su već objavljena tri toma, iznosit će oko 2.000 stranica. Ovo je ono što trenutno završavam i to bi trebao biti prvi od mojih dosadašnjih projekata koji će ugledati svjetlo dana.

There are no New or Old Muslims, instead, there are Wahhabis

cuvalo.net/2010/11/22/there-are-no-new-or-old-muslims-instead-there-are-wahhabis

November 22, 2010

Rešid Hafizović on Bugojno

Oslobođenje/Liberation-July 31, 2010

http://bosnamuslimmedia.com/2010/07/31/intervju-dr-resid-hafizovic-oslobodenje-31-7-2010-god/

There are no New or Old Muslims, instead, there are Wahhabis

Oslobođenje: Professor Hafizović, the terrorist attack in Bugojno reminded many of the terrible, almost prophetic significance of your article, published precisely in „Oslobođenje," titled "They are coming for our children." How did you feel when your darkest premonitions became true and that ignoring your words of warning proved to be disastrous?

Hafizović: When I wrote the text under the above title almost four years ago, and after its reprint following the terrorist attack in Bugojno, I felt awful and sad at the same time, because I realized that what I thought was definitely a thing of the past and, just another event in the history of Muslim literature, culture and civilization, instead had actually become our daily life, a new pestilence after the bloody aggression the Bosniaks barely survived, a new virus which ultimately will ruin a half-millennia old national, religious, and cultural identity of the Bosnian Muslims – Bosniaks. That virus has already destroyed every chance for Islam in Europe, Islam as it once existed in Muslim Spain, and now is ending its work with the autochthonous (indigenous) European Muslim groups in the Balkans and Southeast European region. I wish I never had to write that text, and I would be even happier if my predictions never became true and that I had been wrong.

Oslobođenje: In our community the issue of the "new Muslims," as they are referred to by reis Cerić, or "Wahhabis" as often they are called by the media, or "Salafis" as they usually identify themselves, is by and large addressed superficially. Can you please explain to our readers, in a few words, this terminological confusion and briefly tell us what kind of Muslims that we are talking about here?

Hafizović: There are not any "new" or "old" Muslims. There are only Muslims as such, Muslims as they are defined by Kur'an and Sunna of the Islamic Prophet (a.s.), as they largely have existed throughout the planet for over one thousand and four hundred years. The above division comes from the top of the Bosniak religious leadership and it is just one of the unacceptable terms of their irresponsible use of language in public discourse. The use

of this kind of language only deepened, throughout all these years, the gaps among the Bosniaks, caused quarrels among them and turned them against each other. On the other hand, by such undefined and distasteful tagging of Muslims as “new” or “old,” our religious leadership consciously and purposely absolved itself from every responsibility, as well as from the need of resolving some things on time and placing them in their rightful places for the sake of Islam and the Muslims.

In fact, traditional Bosnian Muslims make up the largest percent of Muslim population in Bosnia, such as described by the sources of Islamic faith themselves. And then, there are ‘Wahhabis’, Muslim puritans and perpetual world fixers. Traditional, authentic Islam, does not fit in any way into their twisted view, and even the Prophet of Islam (a.s.), as a true Meccan aristocrat, is not good enough for them. They are turning him into a caricature, a messy bearded shepherd and a completely ordinary camel driver. They trace their lineage to a Saudi grumbler from the Seventeenth century, Muhammad Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab, an under-educated reformer who declared a jihad against all Muslims of that time with the aid of the later Saudi dynasty which he helped climb the political throne with his phalanxes. He carved in blood the borders of today’s Saudi monarchy in the heart of the Muslim empire. In a shameful alliance with imperialist Britain, he attacked Islamic rule executing thousands of men at Karbala, Najaf, and other places. He shed streams of Muslim blood in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, Taif, and other places. Today’s ‘Wahhabis’ are tied to the name and ideological heritage of this man, which some of the Bosniak politicians in this country, inappropriately, irresponsibly, and wrongly have been equalizing with traditional Muslim legal schools or Mezhebs (Mddhhab). Wahhabism is, in fact, a puritan movement unsatisfied with and intolerant of everything which does not fit its ideological views, and, because of that, it is often predisposed to the methods of murderous ideologies that use any means to achieve their goals. As it is characteristic of every such earlier and later movement, within this puritan faction among the Muslims also exist ferments and certain stratifications which assume other names and different identities. When their mentality, psychology, and unacceptable way of acting finally became transparent, some of them found refuge under the name of ‘salafism,’ and, arrogantly and without precedent, tried to equalize themselves with the first three most exemplary generations of Muslims and their values and virtues. Others, the extreme radical ones for whom even those who shared their beliefs up to that moment were not good enough anymore, promoted themselves into Wahhabi avant-garde and became ‘tekfiris’ – those who have allowed themselves what even the Prophet of Islam (a.s.) did not do nor was he allowed to do, that is, they assumed the privilege to decide who is a true Muslim, and who is not. Basically, we are talking here about the one and same movement, the same intolerant ‘philosophy,’ the same mental framework. The difference in the names, by which they decorate themselves, is only virtual and not of any real significance. In essence, we are talking about unschooled, uneducated, confused people, who forbid their own children, for example, to study biology in school, not even being aware that the subject of study in this honorable discipline is in the closest link with God’s Name ‘Al-Zahir’ or God-Visible acting in the world of the senses. On the one hand they pride themselves for being the only true followers of the Prophet of Islam (a.s.), and on the other

hand, by their ignorance and lack of knowledge of religious practices, they are attacking the very core of Islamic religious doctrine.

Oslobođenje: How did you experience the reactions of the public to the Bugojno attack, I mean, the reactions of the political leadership and those of the Islamic community?

Hafizović: I have experienced them as the apex of human and professional hypocrisy. All of them racing so aggressively, like Pharisees, to the place of the attack to address that terrorist act with the most vicious labels and harsh words. And that was all. None of them moved a finger after that, they didn't even feel a bit of responsibility or readiness to take responsibility for our future. They all knew everything, but they pretended to be so 'innocently perplexed' and surprised. To make things worse, soon after the event, they began to repeat their old tales. They were ready to shift the responsibility to anybody in order to absolve the Wahhabi ideology, the 'new Muslims' who, supposedly, are the only ones able to defend the Bosniaks from genocide, as the Bosniak religious leadership puts it, and one of the highly positioned Bosniak politicians even decorates them with nothing less than the title of 'mezhep.' If this were out of ignorance that would be forgivable, but it is not. It is done from purely manipulative pre-election expediency, in order not to upset that ideology and its mentors from the Arabian peninsula from where, right now, are coming countless delegations of merchants, businessmen, and investors, just like four years ago, so that our voting public may get the false impression that something creative is being done and that, after the upcoming elections, only roses will bloom for us. Because of such ignorant behavior and indolence to look at these phenomena right into the eye, I am afraid, things will get even worse, and we shall all be deeply sorry for our irresponsibility for not acting at the right time.

Oslobođenje: In the last few months, an intense debate is taking place in several European countries about banning niqab in addition to the fact that some countries have already passed certain laws on the subject. What is your take on this matter?

Hafizović: As terrorism has become a global problem of the human community, so the most accountable political power-holders in the world, for the sake of the future of the planet, attempted to create a new system of culture security with totally new procedures and standards, in order to put somehow that unfortunate global phenomenon at least under control. For this reason, the question came up of identifying every individual on this planet as fast and unmistakably as possible. Because of these new security measures in the world, under assault were burka and niqab, integral parts of the dress culture of certain Muslim women in recent times, especially those for whom it is not enough the norm of Muslim women attire as stated in the Kur'an more than fourteen centuries ago, which prescribed that a Muslim woman come to pray with a covered head, unveiled face, covered arms to her fists and covered legs down to the ankles. If a Muslim woman can appear this way in front of the 'Face of God', why can't she come up in front of any creature which He created? If this is not the result of ideological compulsion, as is the case of burka in Afghanistan during the Taliban period, or the result of someone's own initiative to imitate the Prophet's (a.s.) women, about whom the Kur'an explicitly states that they "are not like other women" (Al-Ahzab, 32), and, analogous to that, these later ones cannot be, even if they wanted to, as those earlier ones, then the insistence on wearing a burka and niqab is mostly a question of personal choice

and the least a question of faith and religious belief. If the experts for human rights agree that this part of apparel cannot be omitted from the body of human rights, then I am the first one not to allow human rights to be touched, no matter what human rights are in question, but that should not be linked to faith and be justified by faith, turning one's own religious tradition, in spite of the billion and five hundred million Muslims in the world, into a caricature and anachronistic phenomenon, but that issue has to be put on the level of a personal, individual fashion option and choice. All up to the time when the 'ulema' began to arrive to us from the Arabian peninsula, we did not have problems with burka and niqab. All these five centuries of Islam in Bosnia we had our grandmothers, mothers, sisters, and daughters wearing the recognizable native, Bosnian shawl, by which they covered their heads the way the Kur'an commands, so that never, not even during Communist rule, did this create any difficulty.

What bothers me, personally, in this entire confusion and artificially imposed problem about burka and niqab is this: Some Muslims are not able to comprehend that a billion more important issues exist which, for their own sake, should be resolved as soon as possible. After that is done, they can take the rest of their free time to debate the issue of burka and niqab, because that is the last of the 'important' things in the line of priorities which today stand before such a large number of Muslims, who can only prove themselves as a large biological factor but who have no vital influence in the world market of ideas and other kinds of accomplishments. I would be happier if I could see in tomorrow's Bosnia as many as possible of the best trained Muslim women university professors, with a strong consciousness of their own religious identity and values, whether they wore a shawl or not, than to see a crowd of women captured in burka and niqab, cut from the world and from life. Islam gave freedom and dignity to many women in the Muslim world, but others were enslaved and humiliated by some Muslim rulers who took away their freedom and basic human rights in the twenty first century, and despised them as a necessary evil, something they cannot do without.

Oslobođenje: Such an atmosphere in Europe is being misused by certain circles in the Republika Srpska, who are demanding the outlaw of niqab in Bosnia and Hercegovina. How do you comment on this?

Hafizović: This is pure manipulation and abuse, as in everything else so far. The government in the smaller BiH entity [Republika Srpska] does not care about secular Europe and her struggle for secular European values. That government is only interested in the means of turning off the world's attention from all that government and its institutions are responsible for. The said government knows that it rests on two criminal pillars, that is, the police and the military of that entity, while both of these institutions have been condemned by an international court for genocide, and that is why efforts have to be made to remove them. That government knows that it does not cooperate sufficiently with the state institutions of this land, that it ignores every criticism that comes from a variety of political and diplomatic international circles, for not arresting and processing hundreds of war criminals who not only walk freely throughout this land and the world, but many of whom have high positions in the institutions of that entity. That government knows that the entity it controls is marked by

hundreds of massive graves with remains of executed Bosniaks and it is deliberately hiding the evidence from domestic and international investigators. Finally, that government, by misusing the European debate regarding burka and niqab, is trying, after not being able to break up this country, to convince the world that 'Bosnia is becoming an oasis of White terrorism,' and, because of that, it has to be stopped on her road to European integration and it has to be isolated as the bottomless pit of the Balkans. That is the ultimate purpose of the entire initiative regarding burka and niqab which comes from the smaller BiH entity.
Oslobođenje: Having also in mind the results of the referendum in Switzerland about the ban of minarets, can we talk here of a growing anti-Muslim atmosphere in the West?
Hafizović: In the West, in a lesser or greater measure, an anti-Muslim environment exists since the fall of Granada in 1492. The fact is that the West is not completely happy with the presence of tens of millions of Muslims in its midst, not being aware that Islam, with its basic values, after the period of Muslim Sicily and Spain, and later the Balkans too, is woven into the heart of West European cultural identity. Not knowing or not wishing to know that, the West, especially the integrating Europe, is not even able to finish the story of its own cultural identity. It will not be able to finalize that process until it recognizes what the Muslims gave to it, and that Muslim values are imbedded in European architecture, music, literature, philosophy, art, and other civilized achievements. They can easily find out about it, if they wish to, because there are mountains of manuscripts and written literature about it. In that way, the traditional anti-Muslim environment in Europe and in the West would disappear or, at least, diminish. The case of Switzerland only indicates how in Europe still, at least occasionally, the virus of Islamophobia reigns, but some Muslims in Europe and in the West often bear responsibility for such a climate. Inept in their own intellectual tradition and infected by the virus of Muslim puritanism, they are not able to establish even intra-Islamic communication, and even less communication with their surroundings. The words of Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf in his book Jews and Moors in Spain (Kansas City, 1887), in which he describes the situation in Spain after the expulsion of Muslims and Jews, can also be applied to them today. He states: "It was too late for Spain to call the Moriscos (Muslims) back. Arabs-Muslims, as they once lived in Spain, did not exist any more. Their descendents, unenlightened Bedouins, are roaming through the vastness of Africa, which once their ancestors illuminated and civilized by their scholarship….a deep, much too deep darkness reigns now on the Arabian peninsula." According to that, when the Muslims, especially those in the West, change their attitude toward their own tradition of thinking and believing, they will also change their present situation, as well as their relationship with their neighbors.
Oslobođenje: You are from Srebrenica. How do you comment the events commemorating the fifteenth anniversary of the genocide: From the coming of Tadić [President of Serbia] and Erdogan [PM of Turkey] to the new Dodik's provocations, and the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina is probably the only country in Europe whose state parliament did not take a stand regarding the issue of the Srebrenica genocide?
Hafizović: I participated at the latest jenaza in Potočari. My sister, after burying her only son, buried her husband on that day. That was the real reason for my being there. Otherwise, lately, I avoid going to Potočari on that particular day, because every year one can hear there

too many phony speeches from [our] politicians and foreign diplomats, as well as sanctimonious haughtiness from our religious leadership. All of them, on that day, pour crocodile tears, deliver self-promoting speeches, and then leave and don't remember Potočari and Srebrenica anymore.

As far as Tadić and Erdogan are concerned, they were the brightest figures there yet. If not from human, then at least from well-thought diplomatic and state reasons, Tadić found courage and came to Potočari. To the Western public, he presented himself as a humanist and democrat, and to his country, he opened the door toward Brussels a little more. At this moment, nothing more can be expected from him neither here nor in Belgrade.

Erdogan is, no doubt, our friend, a big diplomat, a statesman and cordial lobbyist for Bosnia. By one move, he does more for his, as well as for our homeland than an entire gang of our politicians during their four-year-long mandate. However, unfortunately, neither Erdogan, nor Tadic it seems, have a worthy interlocutor among the Bosniak political and religious leadership.

The fact that our state parliament is the only such institution that did not take a clear stand regarding the definition of genocide in Srebrenica, as opposed to most of the democratic world, clearly tells that Bosniak politicians on the state level are neither capable nor responsible, and that even there Dodik's politics dominate absolutely. And all of that, is only a tribute we are paying because of the spite-politics of some Bosniak politicians, and, as God is my witness, because of our religious leadership too, which, as our readers will remember, was blowing strongly into Dodik's sails during the last elections, so that the largest Bosniak political party lost the elections in the larger BiH entity, and its leader lost his seat for the Presidency of BiH. All of this is only an indicator of how unworthy are the hands into which the political and religious scepters in this land have fallen. Now we have got what we have got.

Oslobođenje: Turkey has been more and more intensively coming back onto the world scene as an influential factor. Do you think that her growing interest for this area can help consolidate the situation in the region?

Hafizović: Despite the suspicion that comes from Belgrade's Orientalist circles and the appraisal of how a new Ottomanization is taking place in the Balkans, a return of Turkey to these areas would bring betterment to all. Turkey is a true regional power that has a good reputation in the Muslim world as well as in the West. She is an important member of the NATO and a strong ally of America. She has a clear-cut Muslim majority, but also clearly recognizable secular values. It has evolved to such an extent that it has become a strong factor of stability and is, perhaps, more indispensable to Europe, than Europe to her. Today, Turkey has the best and most capable first political and state echelon, which has proven that it can gather together within twenty-four hours and in one place, yesterday's enemies or adversaries and sign with them a declaration which includes an important and beneficial strategy for all sides. Today, the Turkish voice is being heard far away and it is seriously listened to. That is why neither we nor anyone in the Balkan region should be deaf to that voice.

Oslobođenje: It seems that BiH foreign policy, especially, if I may say, the part shaped by the

Bosniak leadership, is not capable of defining itself toward the countries of the Islamic world in a way that would enable Bosnia and Herzegovina to remain between the East and the West: Is this actually possible?

Hafizović: Bosniak foreign policy is so bad that I ask myself if it exists at all. In that segment, practically we don't have a serious human figure, no one with a recognizable and influential diplomatic handwriting and footprint. That's why it is difficult even to expect some perceptible foreign policy, especially one that would establish an equilibrium of Bosnian relationship toward the East and the West, as is the case with Turkey. Otherwise, I think that it is possible to institute such relations. Moreover, with all the objections that we could utter regarding our foreign policy during the Presidency of the late Alija Izetbegović, it should be said that such type of relationships, although not precisely perfect, nevertheless existed at the time. It can be done again, but we need politicians totally differently designed in their mental framework, in their education, and general culture.

Oslobođenje: New elections will take place in two months, do you think that after the third of October we will have more reasons for optimism than today?

Hafizović: If we will have to choose new officials from the actual political scene, well-known to us for the last fifteen years, I think there is not room for optimism. The new names on the present election lists, who are promising us a better future, are, in my opinion, even worse because with them the old Nicean marriage bond between politics and religion, as a dark reflection of Emperor Constantine and Egyptian bishop Athanasius is coming back on the local scene. That cannot be good in any way. We would return into the deep darkness of the past centuries, and precisely in that darkness from said bond, comes out a witchy egg from which there is no healthy offspring, only much blood and dying.

All Bosnians and Herzegovinians who have respect for themselves, will vote for people who will not suck their blood and that of their children through a straw, but those people who will take them into the twenty-first century and into the safe haven of the best achievements of modern civilization. Every sober Bosnian and Herzegovinian must know that during the next elections he does not only vote in his name, but in the name of every child, grandchild, and great-grandchild, for the future of this land, which should be the only ground under our feet. Having that in mind, let everyone listen to his consciousness, and in the depth of his heart cries out to God – which is so human to do – to enlighten his mind on that day and help him make the best decision.

Oslobođenje: To conclude, could you tell our readers what are you presently working on?

Hafizović: Many things are in the process of becoming a reality. Momentarily, I'm finishing a manuscript on Islam in European cultural identity. I'm also trying to finish the fourth, and last, volume of a big Arabian manuscript that was written in the seventeenth century by one of the best known Bosniak intellectuals, Abdullah-efendy Bosniak, as the most beautiful "Commentary on Gems of Prophetic Wisdom" ever written in the time period of eight centuries. The Commentary itself refers to the fundamental work of sufi literature 'Fusus al-Hikam', which was written by a truly European Muslim, the famous Andalusian mystical philosopher Muhjuddin Ibn 'Arabi in the twelfth century. The entire translation of the

manuscript into Bosnian, out of which three volumes have already been published, will be of about 2,000 pages long. This is what I'm finishing at the moment and it should be the first of my present projects to see the light of day.